296 down some 1,500 feet on the other side. He was to provide his own native Indian soap and heat his own iron somehow. In fact, however, I saw him unashamedly spreading out the things to dry on the grass behind the bungalow, having coaxed hot water out of Zaidu. And as Indian soap is made with ghee or some odious, smelly fat which we had no mind to breathe in off our sheets and pillows at night, I agreed to give him one cake of Sunlight soap per week (one of the few supplies I had prudently brought with me). Presently I found that he would much prefer to iron in the kitchen, "it would be so much better for the clothes than being carried to and fro to Baltit," and that he would take it kindly if I would supply the charcoal for his iron. You will deduce that Barato, like Shafi, had learnt a thing or two in India besides his *dhobing*. However, from my point of view the bargain was a good one, and I was glad it should be a good one from his side too. I don't doubt that my "merchant" saved one bar of soap in four, or perhaps one in two, to stock his "shop" in Baltit; but our clothes were nicely washed and he had no competitor within sixty-four miles and deserved to profit by his own enterprise.

He was an entertaining fellow, the *dhobi*, with a humorous kink in his face, and a quaint, half-defiant, half-amusing way of talking that made his calls rather pleasant episodes. His air implied: "Of course you can't afford to lose me; there's no one else in Hunza you could get instead. On the other hand, of course, 15s. a month for your little scrap of work is money for jam, and I like coming over for a chat with your people, so it suits us to be friends."

565 There is something very winning about the complete lack
576 of servility in Hunza. The people are hospitable, courteous, and polite, and too self-respecting to omit the deference due to "The Great," but they own their soil and live their own lives and can look the whole world in the face. They serve you faithfully and ungrudgingly and more than earn what you pay, but they are servants of none. For which reason I wish we had some other word for these lovable peasants who worked for us.

600 Two other points remained: heat and light. The Hunza

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624 limits and were originally it seems centred round the khan (khan, fortress or strong-place). The general security of later times has led to the scattering of habitations seen in more recent settlements like Aliabad. Inside these village-units, such as Baltit, Altit, Ganish, Haidarabad etc. there survive the names of tribal or class divisions. How far these divisions play any significant part in the communal life of the present day is a subject that remains for investigation.

565 463 Society is recognised as divided into the following general classes:

1. Thamo: the Royal Family, including:
   i. the Karíli, the royally-born on both sides.
   ii. the Arghundaro, of commoner origin on the female side, but in Hunza children of wedlock.
2. Uyóngko or Akáhirting — "The Great" — those who enjoy, or have the right to occupy, superior offices in the State, e.g. the posts of Wazir, Trangfa, Yarpa and Farší.
   These two classes do not work with their hands.
3. Bár, Báré Sía, — These cultivate their land and work with their own hands, but, if personally worthy, are eligible for appointment to posts by the Tham. They are not required to carry loads or perform any inferior class of work.
4. Shadarsho — a large class who get their title ("servants") from their eligibility for employment by the Tham as couriers to convey notice of his movements, carry messages etc. They are exempted from menial labour. This class is increasing by recruitment from the next below.
5. Baldakúyo or Tsilgalasho — these are liable to have to carry loads for the Tham and Uyongko, and to wash for gold. They are exempt from the payment of taxes. The Tsilgalasho are Baldakuyo who are in the employment of Uyongko families and then do not carry loads, but on quitting such employment they revert to the status and obligations of the Baldakuyo. The numbers of this class are declining. Their ascent into the ranks of the Shadarsho is now controlled by the Tham; formerly it was in the hands of the Wazir and Trangfa.

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6. Bëritcho — now of two classes:

i. ġhersaho bëritcho — musicians who provide music on all public occasions.

ii. ḍak ċtaaho bëritcho — blacksmiths.[1]

The functions of the Beritcho are undergoing a process of extension. They now fetch firewood for the Tham and thorns for protecting enclosures. They also do plastering work for him. A few serve as sweepers. Their status is said to be rising. The Burusho will now eat food prepared by them, which they would not formerly do.

In both Hunza and Nagir the supreme power resides in an autocracy exercised by the Tham, or Mir. The two royal families derive from a common source and are inter-related by subsequent marriages. This joint royal family claims to have come from Baltistan and to have been established in Hunza and Nagir for the last six hundred years.

Each village group is an administrative unit and the Tham is represented in it by one to three Uyŭngko (Uyŭmko) or Trangŭting (sg.o uyŭm = *great*, trangŭa). Under their direction these officials have Cherbuting (sg. cherbu, ċurbu) who transmit orders to the public. Where the Tham owns land he has a steward, or personal representative, called a Yarpa, who again has subordinates under him to supervise the division of the water-supply.

For the settlement of cases and disputes of all kinds there is in Hunza a long progressive series of "courts", if one may use the term. First the case is dealt with by the heads of the two houses and the two families in conclave. Failing settlement it is referred to the Headman of the community (girtaṡ uyŭm; giraṡ uyuṡ). Thirdly: again failing settlement, it is referred to the Headmen of the Four Clans (wälto girkämichingë uyŭngko; wa·lto girkämiching uyoṡko) who proceed to the "gate" of the Thum and adjudicate on it.

[1] The following are the phonetic renderings of the Burushaski words in the above paragraphs: 1. Thumo; kaveli; ary'undero; 2. uyoṡko or uyuṡko; shaṡbiring; wazir; trangŭa; yarpa; lazaj; 3. hawe ste; 4. ġaḍmaṡo; 5. baldakuyo; saligolaṡo; 6. beritcho; ary'uṡo; ḍak ċtaaho.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

115 hunting, polo — he did it with his might; manly, competent and fearless; a dynamic figure, not necessarily every man's friend. Since then he had visibly aged, but there was still about him something of the alert, dashing air of the born adventurer.

To return to the Texts: No. 4 was related by a then old man, 'Ali Madat of Baltit, who, I believe still survives, though perhaps no longer capable of repeating his effort of eleven years ago.[1] IYB's help was essential in recording this text.

Nazar of Aliabad supplied the version of the "Prodigal Son" given in No. 46 A. No. 47 was written out and sent to me by Gushpur Muhammad Ghani Khân, the son of the Mîr by a local, non-royal wife. He also was a man of vigour and ability who died quite young of some illness, four or five years ago.

The Proverbs were furnished to me in writing by 'Inâyat Ullah Bêg, the second of the three sons of Wazir Humayun.

The Werchikwâr Texts Nos 1 and 2 were obtained by me in Yasin from Hidâyat Shâh of Thui, and the translation of the "Prodigal Son" from Bahâdur Amân Shâh of Yasin. In recording these I had the valuable help of Mêhtarzhau Shâhzâda Yûsuf of Yasin.

538 One point of interest may be noted with regard to the Buru-
[545] shaski Texts, especially those containing local narrative. I have found, on reading out bits of them at random to several people here of the upper class, firstly that they appear readily to follow my rendering of the Burushaski, and secondly that they can habitually continue the statement at any point in almost the same
[95] words as the recorded text. This shows that, though there are no professional narrators in Hunza, with the possible, partial exception of Ali Madat, the ordinary people are in the habit of passing on tales and explanations of customs in a more or less
[175] stereotyped form of expression. This is probably the relic of a former custom of the upper classes of spending the evening after

[1] I have, since writing this, sought him out, and found him decrepit, but cheerful. Public opinion denies him any large measure of sympathy, as "he is not really old and has a number of sons who support him in comfort".

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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that the old palace is up at least another 500 or 600 feet. It was perched precariously on a huge outcropping of rock that jutted straight up into the air and the entire surface of the pinnacle was used for the building. There was no superfluous area surrounding it.

I had a long list of questions prepared and I knew even before I started that Sultan Ali could not give me all the answers because many of the questions were strictly horticultural—others dealt with dietary principles. I wanted to talk to farmers and individual people and housewives on both of these subjects.

I asked if he could arrange to take me to a group of farmers or even an individual farmer . . . that is, farmers who were capable and efficient—the better, the more intelligent and prosperous ones . . . so that I might delve into their ways and means of field husbandry.

He nodded, "This will be done. When would you like to talk to them?"

"Tomorrow morning, if it can be done," I replied.

"That's fine. I will arrange it!"

Wherever it was possible, I wanted to get my information direct from the people concerned. There is actually only one class of people in Hunza and one occupation, which is farming. I only know of one shop in the area and it sells mostly goods that have been brought in by the Chinese caravans that have passed through. I don't doubt also that there were some goods in this same shop that came into Hunza via Rawalpindi and Gilgit.

However, it was plain and clear that 900 of the citizens of Hunza out of 1000 made their living by means of farming. Therefore, as I had come to Hunza primarily to study the farming and horticultural methods of the people, the preparation of the foods they ate,

7:Tobe C, T-3 (1959) 1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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roasting or broiling, in Hunza most of the foods are eaten raw or lightly cooked.

To me, at least, the reason was plain and clear . . . they have little or no fuel. Coal is unknown, wood extremely hard to get . . . they have to go a long way to find a bit of forest or woodland. I saw practically none in the Hunza area. In another area I visited—Punial—one could see a few trees and copses that represented their woodlands. But timber suitable for firewood was not within reach of the people of Hunza. The bit of wood they did get would most likely come from an apricot or other fruit tree that had outlived its usefulness.

One of the most important reasons that apricots have become such an important part in the Hunzan diet is the fact that, by having found or created early, midseason and late varieties, the Hunzan season for apricots extends two full months. This is a most vital consideration and is well worth remembering.

The staple oil or fat of the people is apricot oil. Ghee is used regularly, but butter can only be afforded and used on special occasions.

During the entire summer seldom, if ever, is meat served or seen on an average Hunzan's table, but during the three hard winter months (December, January and February) meat or chicken is sometimes used, if available (which is seldom). Even then, it is used only by the more prosperous or wealthy people. The poorer people can't afford to kill their cattle and use them for beef except on special occasions or religious holidays.

When I say the poorer people, I should qualify this statement, for there are no class distinctions whatsoever in Hunza. However, there are those families who own but one acre of land and there are those who own 10 acres. Therefore it is to be expected that there would be a difference in their living standards.